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## VI.—LANDERICUS AND WACHERIUS.

In the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* of Giraldus Cambrensis there is an allusion to two songs which were evidently current among minstrels of the twelfth century, though they are unknown to us at the present time. The passage is found in the Second Book, where the author is attacking the practice of simony then common among the clergy. Of priests who read the mass twice or oftener upon the same day for the sake of donations additional to the one which it was customary for them to receive upon these occasions, he says:

“Hi etiam et similes sunt cantantibus fabulas et gesta, qui videntes cantilenam de Landrico non placere auditoribus, statim incipit cantare de Wacherio; quod si non placuerit de alio.”<sup>1</sup>

This passage in Giraldus, as is well known, agrees almost word for word with a passage in the *Verbum Abreviatum* of the French ecclesiastic Petrus Cantor, who died in 1197, and has been universally assumed to have been directly copied from it. It will be convenient to have also before us the corresponding lines from Petrus:

“Similes sunt cantantibus fabulas et gesta, qui videntes cantilenam de Landrico non placere auditoribus, statim incipiunt de Narciso cantare; quod si nec placuerit, cantant de alio.”<sup>2</sup>

It will be noted that the second *cantilena* mentioned by Petrus is “Narcisus” and not “Wacherius.” Of this discrepancy I shall speak later.

The passage in the *Verbum* has frequently been made

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, p. 290 in Giraldus Camb., *Opera*; “Rolls Series,” Vol. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Verbum Abreviatum*, chap. 27, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, ccv, col. 101.

the basis of speculation by students of mediæval epic and romance, and various suggestions have been thrown out in the attempt to identify the "Landricus" there mentioned with some one of the personages of that name who appear in more or less important rôles in the literature of the Middle Ages. Of these the most recent and the most elaborate was put forward in 1903 by M. Ferdinand Lot in his paper *La Chanson de Landri*.<sup>1</sup> M. Lot attempts to prove, on the authority of Petrus Cantor's allusion, that there formerly existed a *chanson de geste* concerning Landri, Count of Nevers, whose death occurred in the year 1080. Though he shows that Landri of Nevers was prominent in the history of his time, and that tales of a legendary nature had sprung up in connection with his name, he is nevertheless not able to adduce any testimony that the count was ever the subject of minstrel song. Indeed, he frankly admits that, unless it be found in this reference of Petrus Cantor's, no evidence exists that the stories of Landri of Nevers were ever cast into epic form.<sup>2</sup> His attempt to use this passage in support of his argument is therefore in the nature of a *petitio principii*, and the question of Landricus's identity is still open to investigation.

Although we are unable to accept M. Lot's conclusion, two of the references quoted by him<sup>3</sup> furnish a valuable clue which leads us in quite a different direction:

"Baron, ceste chansons n'est mie de folie  
D'Auchier ne de Landri."

*Prise de Jerusalem*, Bibl. Imp., ms. fr. 1374, fol. 75, col. 2.

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, xxxii, pp. 1 et sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> From Guessard and Meyer: *Aye d'Avignon* [of the series *Les Anciens Poètes de la France*] Intro., p. xxii, footnote; and from a review by Meyer of M. Birch-Hirschfeld's *Ueber die den Troubadours des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts bekannten epischen Stoffe*, in *Romania*, vii, p. 451.

“Ce que je vos vueil dire et ce qu’avez oï  
 Sachiez que ce n’est pas d’Auchier ne de Landri.”  
 From Thibaut de Marly,<sup>1</sup> B. N. ms. fr. 25405, fol. 111 c.

Curiously enough, M. Lot has not observed that the names “Landri” and “Auchier,” which appear in these quotations, are identical with the “Landericus” and “Wacherius” of Giraldus Cambrensis, in spite of the fact that he has cited the passage from Giraldus in a footnote. In the French texts the names appear in gallicized forms instead of in the latinized forms used by Giraldus.

To these quotations I add a third from the *Alixandre*, which contains the same proper names.<sup>2</sup>

“Je ne vos commanc mie de Landri ne d’Auchier.”  
*Alixandre*, ed. Michelant, p. 2.

Moreover there are the following lines in the *Roman de Renart*:

“Car je voi molt, ce m’est avis,  
 Entor moi de mes enemis :  
 Se chascun me tenoit a plein,  
 Il me donroit tot el que pain,  
 Or vos tenes la jus tuit coi,  
 Contes d’Auchier et de Lanfroi !  
 Qui set noveles, si les cont :  
 Ge l’orai bien de ca amont.”<sup>3</sup>

This appears to be a reference to the same two tales, “Lanfroi” probably being a misreading for “Landri,” or a confusion suggested quite possibly by the name of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also, *Herrig’s Archiv*, LXIII, 78. These two lines occur on page 82.

<sup>2</sup> This also is cited by Guessard and Meyer in their introduction to *Aye d’Avignon*; cf. footnote above. The word “Auchier” is here written “Augier.”

<sup>3</sup> This reference was kindly pointed out to me by Professor Foulet, formerly of Bryn Mawr College. Cf. *Roman de Renart*, Branch Ia, lines 2161–68, ed. Martin, 1882, Vol. I, pp. 60–61. Cf. also Vol. III, p. 16—note on the above.

bastard "Lanfroi" ("Hainfroi," "Rainfroi") of *Mainet* and other poems.<sup>1</sup>

Now, that these names, "Landri" and "Auchier," should occur together in four (probably five) compositions—two *chansons de geste*, a religious poem,<sup>2</sup> and an ecclesiastical treatise—is significant; so significant indeed, that hereafter neither one of these characters can be considered without reference to the other. We shall be obliged to bear in mind a possible relationship between them other than the one we already are aware of—namely, that they are both heroes of street songs.

Moreover, the coupling of "Landri" and "Auchier," in the five cases cited above, brings us face to face with a very curious situation arising from the relation that the passage of Giraldus bears to that of Petrus Cantor.

As I have already pointed out, the original text differs from the passage of Giraldus in one important particular: the name of the second *cantilena* is not "Wacherius" but "Narcisus." Now how is it that Giraldus, who copied from Petrus Cantor, has the correct reference to Auchier and Landri, while Petrus has not? I say the correct reference—for the names as they appear in Giraldus tally with the allusion in the French *gestes* and with Thibaut de Marly, while, on the other hand, nowhere else but in the *Verbum Abreviatum* has there come to light a passage coupling the name "Narcisus" with that of "Landri" or "Landricus."

Is it possible that Giraldus, knowing that these names were bandied about together, and believing that Petrus had made a mistake, deliberately undertook to correct the

<sup>1</sup> Jonckbloet is also of the opinion that the reference here is the same as that in the *Alixandre*. Cf. p. 335 of his *Étude sur le Roman de Renart*.

<sup>2</sup> The poem of Thibaut de Marly is religious in character.

"Narciso" in his own reproduction of Petrus Cantor's passage? Or, indeed, is it certain that Giraldus did actually copy from Petrus Cantor, and not *vice versa*—a question which I think has not been raised up to now? Or—as a third possibility—is something wrong with the "Narciso" in the ms. of the *Verbum Abreviatum*?

Leaving the first possibility for the present out of the discussion, for reasons which will later be manifest, let us consider in turn what is involved in each of the other two.

That Giraldus did copy from Petrus Cantor can be made evident from the following facts. First, the dates are favorable. F. S. Gutjahr<sup>1</sup> has shown clearly that Petrus must have written the *Verbum Abreviatum* between 1187 and the date of his death, 1197. Now, as it was in 1199 that Giraldus presented the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* to the pope (Innocent III.), it follows that he must have seen the *Verbum Abreviatum*, if he used it, and must have written at least a certain part of the *Gemma* between 1187 and 1199. Where was Giraldus during these years? It seems that he was in England from 1187 to 1192 with the exception of a portion of the year 1188-89 when he was in France for the purpose of furthering the crusade begun by Henry II. He may have seen the *Verbum* upon this visit, though it does not appear very likely either that the *Verbum* was finished, or that Giraldus was engaged upon the *Gemma* at this time, being busy with other matters.<sup>2</sup> In 1192 he attempted to go to France, but being prevented by the war between Richard I. and Philip

<sup>1</sup> F. S. Gutjahr: *Petrus Cantor Parisiensis. Sein Leben und seine Schriften*. Graz, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> He seems to have been writing his Itinerary, as well as urging forward the crusade. For an account of the movements of Giraldus, with the dates I have given, cf. the preface of the "Rolls Series" ed. of Giraldus Camb. *Opera*, Vol. I.

Augustus, it appears that he went to Lincoln, where he remained until 1198. It would seem likely then, that Giraldus saw a copy of the *Verbum* (or the original ms., possibly) either in England or during the year 1198-99 in France; the first seems to me the more probable, as doubtless the preparation of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* for a gift to the pope was a matter of time and painstaking labor, and I cannot think it was unfinished when Giraldus started for Italy. If my surmise should be correct, it means that the *Verbum Abreviatum* had reached England before 1199. This is not difficult to believe; there is, at the present time, a ms. of it in the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge ( $\Delta$  5.12), which Dr. M. R. James assigns to the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, there is evidence of a more positive kind. In an earlier passage in the *Gemma*,<sup>2</sup> Giraldus mentions Petrus by name, giving his authority in the matter of certain church rites. Then in the *Speculum Ecclesiæ*,<sup>3</sup> Giraldus acknowledges that he is quoting Petrus Cantor in the subject he is then discussing. This, it would seem, is as near positive proof as we can hope to get that the other parallel passages, among which is our reference to Wacharius and Landericus, were also taken by Giraldus from the *Verbum*, in the absence of any indication that Petrus drew from Giraldus. Besides, there is small probability that Petrus ever had access to the ms. of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*.

Now after beginning fairly to investigate the whole matter, and without excluding the possibility of the first

<sup>1</sup>Cat. MSS. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, p. 113. This ms. came from a Cistercian monastery.

<sup>2</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup>Dist. II, Cap. 17. For this reference and others of parallel passages in the works of Giraldus and the *Verbum Abreviatum*, see F. S. Gutjahr, *l. c.*

alternative (that Giraldus corrected the "Narciso" of Petrus to "Wacherio"), I nevertheless came to the conclusion that it was in the third possibility that the solution of the "Narciso-Wacherio" was to be found—namely, that something must be wrong with the word "Narciso" in the ms. of the *Verbum Abreviatum*. I was persuaded that Petrus Cantor did not write the word "Narciso" at all, but that it appeared in some later copy of his ms., and that from this later copy, or from descendants of it, the Migne edition was compiled. With this in mind I have made efforts to have as many mss. as possible of the *Verbum Abreviatum* examined, with the following results:

Ms. No. 171 of the Library of Salisbury Cathedral (thirteenth century) omits the reference to Landricus and Narcisus, though giving what immediately precedes and follows.

Cottonian ms. Claudius E I. (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries) and Harleian ms. 5099 (fourteenth century) and Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 35180 (thirteenth century)—all of which Professor C. F. Brown kindly examined for me—contain the allusion just as it stands in Migne.

Ms. Δ 5.12 of the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, seems to have omitted not only any mention of these names, but indeed the entire context.

For the examination of six mss. in Paris, I am indebted to Miss Louise Dudley. Of these, mss. Latin 14521 (fourteenth century), 15101, 16383, 18122, 13433 (all of the thirteenth century) record the names "Landricus" and "Narcisus" with slight variations in spelling. But with ms. 250 of the Bibliothèque St. Geneviève (thirteenth century) a definite clue is afforded us. Chapter XXII, leaf 41 back (left column) reads as follows: "Similes



sunt ioculatori uel fabulatori qui uidens cantilenam de landerico non placere auditoribus; statim incipit cantare de aucherocho. Quod si non placuerit: de alexandro. Quo fastidito; cantilenam per-mutat in appollonium uel karolum magnum uel quemlibet alium."

Clearly, *aucherocho* (MS. auch'ocho) <sup>1</sup> is not "Narciso" nor anything approaching to it. I take it to be unmistakably a form of "Aucherio." The sign ' may mean a number of things; <sup>2</sup> but it occurs in the word "placuerit" in the passage quoted above as an abbreviation for *er* (MS. placu'it).

As for the less important detail of the ending "ocho" instead of "io," it is perhaps an error of the scribe. It is more than probable that the MS. from which he was making his transcript was illegible in places. The MSS. from which the Migne edition of the *Verbum Abreviatum* was compiled were in a deplorable state of preservation, as is set forth in the address to the reader.<sup>3</sup> The margins were scribbled upon by scribes, passages were cut out and lines were added.

I believe, therefore, that Petrus Cantor wrote the word "Aucherio" (or "Wacherio"), and not "Narciso" in the *Verbum Abreviatum*, and that Giraldus must have seen a copy which had this word as Petrus wrote it—or possibly the original MS. itself. For the fact that one

<sup>1</sup> So far as the form of the letter is concerned, the first *c* in this word might equally well be read as *t*. The close similarity between these two letters makes it impossible to be certain on this point. If the letter be read as *t*, it may still, I think, be regarded as a scribal error. Elsewhere this scribe has put *t* where another letter belongs. The final *i* in the word "ioculatori" in the first line of the above quotation was crossed—a manifest mistake.

<sup>2</sup> It may mean *ri*, *r*, *re* (in *preda*), as well as *er*, which are readings occurring elsewhere in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> Cols. 21, 22. Migne ed.

MS. of the *Verbum* agrees with the text of Giraldus in the form of this name is enough to establish the reading of "Aucherio" when taken with the overwhelming evidence afforded by the coupling of the names "Landri" and "Auchier" in the *Prise de Jerusalem, Alixandre, Roman de Renart*, and the poem of Thibaut de Marly.

The occurrence of "Narciso" in so many mss. of the *Verbum Abreviatum* may be accounted for in one of two ways: either the word "Aucherio" was entirely gone in one of the early mss. and a scribe substituted "Narciso" for it on his own responsibility; or "Narciso" was the blundering attempt to reproduce a much mutilated "Aucherio"—whence all these other mss., including those from which the Migne edition was compiled. The scribes were manifestly careless as to the preservation of the original. Nor is this apparent in the Migne mss. only. The Salisbury ms. is evidently corrupt—lacking the allusion to the minstrel songs; the place where it should occur, moreover, being not in Chapter 27,<sup>1</sup> but in Chapter 15. Again, Harl. ms. 5099 contains the passage in Chapter 17, Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 35180 in Chapter 22. The Sidney Sussex College ms. lacks it entirely. Variations of position are also to be noted among the French mss., as may be seen from the preceding references to them.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, this solution disposes of the necessity of considering the first alternative suggested. Giraldus did not correct Petrus Cantor by substituting "Wacherius"

<sup>1</sup> Where it occurs in Migne.

<sup>2</sup> It is in order to suggest here that a better edition than that of Migne is needed of the *Verbum Abreviatum*. Many mss. of the *Verbum* have not been examined at all; there has been practically no collation of mss. And as is evident from the example afforded by the word *Narcisus*, the Migne edition is corrupt, and probably farther from what the original was than are some mss. now accessible.

for "Narcisus." He copied "Wacherius" directly from Petrus. It would have been strange indeed had Giraldus understood the point of coupling the names "Landericus" and "Wacherius" and his contemporary, Petrus Cantor, had not—though, being a Frenchman, he was far more likely to have heard these allusions.

It remains, in the light of the preceding facts, to correct certain misapprehensions which have arisen regarding "Auchier" and "Landri" where they are mentioned in the French *gestes* and by Thibaut de Marly.

M. Lot, who concerns himself with the references of Petrus Cantor and the French poems only so far as "Landri" is concerned—the "Wacherius" of Giraldus having escaped him—understands the allusion contained in the lines from *La Prise de Jerusalem* and Thibaut de Marly as referring to a single composition entitled *Auchier et Landri*, and not to two different poems. On the strength of this, he hazards a suggestion as to the identity of "Auchier" in an effort to relate him to Landri of Nevers: "On le voit, ces allusions" [*i. e.*, these and some others concerning "Landri" and "Aya"] "se réfèrent, non pas à une mais à deux compositions, l'une . . . l'autre *Auchier et Landri*. De la première . . . La seconde avait un caractère soit de parodie, soit d'extrême fantaisie, puisqu'on la cite comme chose invraisemblable, mensongère."<sup>1</sup> And later:—"Quant à la seconde composition, *Auchier et Landri*, il est impossible de ne pas se rappeler, à propos du premier nom, l'Alicherius contre lequel le comte de Nevers, Rahier, soutint un duel tragique, resté fameux à Nevers. Mais c'est tout ce qu'on en peut dire."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lot, *La Chanson de Landri*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> The same, pp. 12, 13.

The allusion of Petrus Cantor, however, proves that this is a misapprehension; Petrus is speaking of two distinct songs. If the song of Landricus does not please, the minstrel tries that of Aucherius (or Wacherius); failing a second time, he tries still another. Petrus knew of the relation existing between the two *cantilenæ*, and the fact that he refers to them as two is quite sufficient to settle the question as regards the allusions in the *Alixandre*, *Prise de Jerusalem*, *Roman de Renart*,<sup>1</sup> and in the poem of Thibaut de Marly. As to Lot's suggestion in regard to "Alicherius," it loses its force as soon as one regards Landri and Auchier as heroes of separate songs, to say nothing of its being rather a far cry from Count Rahier and Alicherius to Landri and Auchier.

Though Jonckbloet, in his *Etude sur Le Roman de Renart*, ed. 1863,<sup>2</sup> understands that the allusion contained in the line "Contez d'Auchier et de Lanfroi" of the *Roman de Renart* is to two poems, he nevertheless expresses it as his belief that it is probably to the *chanson de geste* which Albéric des Trois-Fontaines mentions under the year 763, and which concerns the two bastard sons of Pepin, Holdricus and Raginfredus, or as the names appear in other poems, "Hoderich" and "N(R)aenffrait," "Reinfry" and "Heu(n)dry," "Lanfroi" and "Landri," thereby appearing to identify

<sup>1</sup> Martin, in his ed. of the *Roman de Renart*, Vol. III, p. 16, also understands the allusion in the *Roman de Renart* as being to two poems: "Elle (Branch Ia) parle dans le v. 2166 des contes d'Auchier et de Lanfroi: ces noms se retrouvent avec une légère altération dans le roman d'Alexandre par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay (ed. Michelant, 2. 14: 'Je ne vous commanc mie de Landri ne d'Augier') et ailleurs encore (Birch-Hirschfeld, Ueber die den Troubadours bekannten epischen Stoffe, p. 68), sans que nous connaissions les poèmes d'où ils sont tirés."

<sup>2</sup>Jonckbloet: *Etude sur le Roman de Renart*, pp. 335-6, and footnote.

Auchier with the second bastard son. If Jonckbloet meant to imply this, he appears to me not entirely consistent. The reference in the *Roman de Renart* is to two poems. But the two bastard brothers appear always in the same poem. I believe they are never mentioned separately. Hence our "Auchier" and "Landri" cannot be they. Moreover, I see no way of deriving the forms "Auchier" or "Wacherius" or "Aucherius" from "Holdricus" or "Hoderich," "Heu(n)dry" or "Landris"—or *vice versa*. The *d* sticks wherever the name of the bastard son of Pepin occurs.

In this study I have confined myself to the problem presented by the discrepancy between the "Landricus" and "Narcisus" in the text of the *Verbum Abreviatum* and the "Landericus" and "Wacherius" in the treatise by Giraldus. I hope in a later article to take up for special consideration the question of the *cantilena* of "Landericus."

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